

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 208687 TOSEC 100475

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: NATO, PO, PFOR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PORTUGAL AND NATO

(S/S 7517283) -

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN THRU SONNENFELDT

### 1. THE PROBLEM.

LAST FRIDAY'S DESIGNATION OF VASCO GONCALVES AS CHIEF OF STAFF OF PORTUGAL'S ARMED FORCES HIGHLIGHTS PORTUGAL'S AWKWARD SITUATION WITHIN NATO, AND STRENGTHENS THE NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION ON THE ALREADY-CRITICAL QUESTION OF SECURITY OF NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. WE BELIEVE THAT MEASURES TO RESTRICT SHARPLY PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ARE WARRANTED ON THEIR MERITS, AND FAILURE TO TAKE THEM WOULD LEAVE US OPEN TO CHARGES OF IRRESPONSIBILITY. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT SUCH MEASURES, IF TAKEN PROMPTLY, COULD BE SEEN AS A REBUKE OF THE GONCALVES  
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APPOINTMENT AND COULD STRENGTHEN OPPOSITION WITHIN THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY TO HIS CONTINUING PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US MAKE CLEAR IMMEDIATELY TO SYG LUNS AND OTHER NATO ALLIES THAT WE FAVOR A SHARP CUTBACK IN PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION, INCLUDING, AS RECOMMENDED BY AMBASSADOR BRUCE,

A CUTOFF OF ALL INFORMATION CLASSIFIED SECRET AND ABOVE EXCEPT ON A STRICT NEED TO KNOW BASIS. FURTHER, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US URGE LUNS TO LET IT BE KNOWN PUBLICLY THAT NEW AND SEVERE SECURITY MEASURES WITH REGARD TO PORTUGAL ARE NECESSARY AND ARE BEING TAKEN BECAUSE OF THE SITUATION IN LISBON.

## 2. BACKGROUND.

THE NATO PERMREPS MET SEPTEMBER 1 TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, WITH A CONSENSUS EVIDENT THAT THE AD HOC MEASURES INSTITUTED IN THE SLOW MONTH OF AUGUST WERE NO LONGER ADEQUATE TO ENSURE SECURITY OF INFORMATION PROVIDED TO PORTUGAL, WITH NORMAL BUSINESS RESUMING IN SEPTEMBER, AND WITH A CLEAR SENSE OF URGENCY BASED ON VASCO GONCALVES APPOINTMENT AS ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF. THE PERMREPS WILL MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER 8 OR 9. AMBASSADORS BRUCE AND CARLUCCI BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD MOVE SOONER, AND THAT THE US SHOULD ATTEMPT IMMEDIATELY TO GAIN ALLIED CONSENSUS TO REDUCE PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. AMBASSADOR BRUCE RECOMMENDS THAT US MOVE PROMPTLY WITH LUNS AND OTHER ALLIES TO CUT-OFF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO ANY INFORMATION CLASSIFIED SECRET OR ABOVE, EXCEPT ON A STRICT NEED TO KNOW BASIS. THIS WOULD AS A CONSEQUENCE SERIOUSLY CUT BACK PORTUGUESE PARTICIPATION IN NATO COMMITTEES AND ACTIVITIES. HE NOTES THAT THE POTENTIAL DISADVANTAGES OF SUCH A MOVE--POSSIBLY FORCING PORTUGAL'S HAND TO OPT OUT OF NATO, OR STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS THROUGH CHARGES OF NATO INTERFERENCE IN PORTUGUESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS--APPEAR LESS PERTINENT THAN BEFORE BECAUSE OF THE OVERALL CONFUSION IN LISBON, AND THE PROVEN TENDENCY OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT TO VACILLATE. AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI ARGUES  
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THAT A GENERAL CUT-OFF OF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, AMOUNTING TO A DE FACTO SUSPENSION OF PORTUGAL FROM NATO, APPEARS WARRANTED. CARLUCCI NOTES THAT SUCH A STEP BY NATO WOULD BE INTERPRETED IN LISBON AS A REACTION AGAINST THE GONCALVES APPOINTMENT, AND INDEED AS A REBUKE TO COSTA GOMES. FURTHER, CARLUCCI BELIEVES SUCH A STEP WOULD BE WELCOMED BY THE ANTUNES "MODERATES" AND COULD STRENGTHEN OPPOSITION AMONG THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY TO THE GONCALVES APPOINTMENT, A CONSIDERATION WHICH ARGUES FOR URGENT ACTION BY US AND NATO ALLIES. COMMENTING ON CARLUCCI'S ASSESSMENT, US NATO ARGUES AGAINST A COMPLETE CUT-OFF OF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, NOTING

THAT A DE FACTO SUSPENSION OR EXPULSION OF PORTUGAL FROM THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE A FAR HARDER STEP ON WHICH TO GAIN ALLIED CONSENSUS, AND THAT SIMILAR RESULTS COULD BE PRODUCED BY A SUSPENSION OF ACCESS TO INFORMATION LABELLED SECRET AND ABOVE.

3. ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION.

A. CONTINUING THE PRESENT COURSE OF ACTION.

PRESENTLY, PORTUGAL VOLUNTARILY ABSTAINS FROM ACCESS TO TOP SECRET AND ATOMAL INFORMATION, AND FROM CERTAIN SENSITIVE MBFR DISCUSSIONS. IN ADDITION, THE OTHER NATO ALLIES AND THE NATO STAFF ADOPTED FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST A POLICY OF SLOWDOWN ON DISTRIBUTION TO PORTUGAL OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION, AND OF LIMITING THE NATIONAL INPUTS OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION INTO THE NATO SYSTEM. CONTINUATION OF SUCH A SET OF PROCEDURES FOR SEPTEMBER AND BEYOND WOULD POSE UNACCEPTABLE INSTITUTIONAL BURDENS ON NATO, INCLUDING FOR EXAMPLE A POSTPONEMENT OF DEFENSE REVIEWS THROUGH THE DPQ PROCESS.

B. CUT-OFF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. THIS STEP WOULD AMOUNT TO A DE FACTO SUSPENSION OF PORTUGAL FROM MOST NATO ACTIVITIES. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HARD TO GET AGREEMENT FROM OTHER ALLIES TO SUCH A MEASURE, AND THAT THE SHARPNESS AND SEVERITY OF SUCH A STEP WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO REVERSE IN THE SECRET

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FUTURE IF THIS WERE DESIRABLE, AND WOULD ALSO DEPRIVE US OF FLEXIBILITY TO ESCALATE RESTRICTIONS ON PORTUGAL.

C. CUT-OFF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO SECRET INFORMATION AND ABOVE. NATO'S SECURITY DIRECTOR, WHO RECOMMENDS THIS COURSE, ESTIMATES THAT IT WOULD ELIMINATE PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO ABOUT 80 PERCENT OF SIGNIFICANT NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. FURTHER, IF THIS STEP WERE MADE ON A NEED TO KNOW BASIS, IT WOULD PERMIT A HIGHLY LIMITED FORM OF PORTUGUESE PARTICIPATION IN THE NATO CLASSIFIED SYSTEM, WHEN NECESSARY, TO MAINTAIN ITS ROLE AS AN ALLY--FOR EXAMPLE, WITH RESPECT TO THE IBERLANT COMMAND. THIS APPROACH WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF FLEXIBILITY TO MAKE FURTHER RESTRICTIONS ON PORTUGUESE ACTIVITIES IN NATO. FURTHER, IT COULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT PUBLICITY, AS AN INTERNAL NATO MEASURE AIMED ESSENTIALLY AT THE SECURITY QUESTION, OR IT COULD BE PUBLICIZED AS APPROPRIATE AS EVIDENCE OF AN ALLIED REBUKE OF THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, INCLUDING THE GONCALVES ARMED FORCES

APPOINTMENT. WHILE ALLIED AGREEMENT TO SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE FAR EASIER TO SECURE THAN TO A TOTAL CUT-OFF OF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO INFORMATION, IT MAY NONE-

THELESS TAKE ONE OR TWO WEEKS IF NORMAL NATO PROCEDURES ARE FOLLOWED, AND IF UNFORESEEN OBJECTIONS OF PRINCIPLE DO NOT ARISE FROM THE ALLIES. SYG LUNS FAVORS THIS COURSE; AND AMBASSADORS BRUCE AND CARLUCCI ALSO FAVOR THIS DIRECTION.

4. WE COULD, OF COURSE, DELAY A DECISION ON THIS ISSUE, AT LEAST UNTIL NEXT WEEK WHEN THE SUBJECT IS DISCUSSED AT NATO. GONCALVES HAS NOT YET BEEN SWORN INTO HIS NEW POSITION, AND OPPOSITION HAS SURFACED TO HIS NEW ROLE AMONG THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY. THUS, WE COULD WAIT TO SEE IF GONCALVES APPEARED TO BE STAYING IN OFFICE OR LOSING POWER. IF HE WERE ON THE WANE OR OUT OF OFFICE, WE MIGHT WANT TO RECONSIDER ADDITIONAL SECURITY SANCTIONS AGAINST PORTUGAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION IS LIKELY TO REMAIN FLUID AND UNCLEAR FOR SOME TIME, AND FOR A PROPOSED NATO ACTION TO HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF ALLIED ACCEPTANCE AND GREATEST EFFECT  
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IN PORTUGAL, IT SHOULD BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY. FURTHER, DELAY WOULD OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT, EVEN WITHOUT GONCALVES, PORTUGAL WOULD STILL POSE SERIOUS SECURITY PROBLEMS IN NATO WHICH NEED TO BE ADDRESSED.

5. RECOMMENDATION.

THAT WE AUTHORIZE AMBASSADOR BRUCE TO MAKE CLEAR TO LUNS AND OTHER ALLIES THAT THE US STRONGLY FAVORS AN IMMEDIATE CUT-OFF OF PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO INFORMATION MARKED SECRET AND ABOVE (OPTION C). FURTHER, TO CAPITALIZE ON THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN LISBON, WHERE THERE MAY BE A CHANCE OF SWAYING MILITARY SERVICES TO OPPOSE GONCALVES AS A SENIOR PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US ASK LUNS TO MAKE PUBLIC, OFFICIALLY OR ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THE FACT THAT NATO IS UNDERTAKING ADDITIONAL SECURITY RESTRICTIONS ON PORTUGAL, AND TO LINK THIS FACT WITH THE GONCALVES APPOINTMENT IN LISBON. CONCURRENTLY, AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI COULD ALSO MAKE THESE POINTS CLEAR IN LISBON, IF NEED BE.

APPROVE THIS COURSE, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY, TO CAPITALIZE ON TACTICAL SITUATION IN LISBON

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY,

APPROVE THIS COURSE, BUT WAIT UNTIL NATO PERMREP'S MEETING ON PORTUGAL (PROBABLY SEPTEMBER 8-9), WHEN WE

MAY HAVE A CLEARER VIEW OF EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

APPROVE  
DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY,

CONTINUE PRESENT COURSE, BY WHICH PORTUGAL ABSTAINS  
FROM TOP SECRET AND ATOMAL INFORMATION, THE NATO STAFF  
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SLOWS DOWN DISTRIBUTION OF SENSITIVE INFORMATION TO  
PORTUGAL, AND ALLIES WATER DOWN THEIR CLASSIFIED INPUTS  
TO NATO (OPTION A)

APPROVE  
  
DISAPPROVE

CUT-OFF ALL PORTUGUESE ACCESS TO NATO CLASSI-  
FIED INFORMATION (OPTION B).

APPROVE  
  
DISAPPROVE

IN CLEARING THIS MEMO, MR. SONNENFELDT SUGGESTS  
THAT WE HOLD UP ACTION AT NATO ON THIS MATTER UNTIL YOU  
HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH KEY ALLIES

DURING MEETINGS IN NEW YORK LATER THIS WEEK. IN THE  
MEANTIME HE PROPOSES THAT CARLUCCI BE AUTHORIZED AT HIS  
DISCRETION TO USE THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW RESTRICTIONS ON  
NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IN HIS CONTACTS IN LISBON TO  
INFLUENCE THE SITUATION THERE. IN ANY CASE, MR.  
SONNENFELDT DOES NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD POSTPONE A  
DECISION ON THIS MATTER BEYOND THE NEXT NATO PERMREPS  
MEETING SCHEDULED FOR NEXT WEEK.

APPROVE  
  
DISAPPROVE  
CLEARANCES: C-MR. SONNENFELDT; NSC - MR. CLIFT.  
ROBINSON

SECRET

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